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CONFIDENTIAL STATE 169236

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SW, XF, XH, AO, SHUM

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION OF UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM WITH SWEDISH AMBASSADOR WACHTMEISTER

1. SUMMARY: IN A GENERAL DISCUSSION JUNE 28 UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM DISCUSSED WITH AMBASSADOR WACHTMEISTER THE PROPOSED SALE OF THE SWEDISH VIGGEN FIGHTER TO INDIA, PROSPECTS FOR MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS, US/SOVIET RELATIONS, THE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 169236

CYPRUS QUESTION, THE RECENT US CONTACT WITH ANGOLA, AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND ARGENTINA. END SUMMARY.

- 2. WACHTMEISTER SAID HE WAS LEAVING FOR SWEDEN, AND AFTER THE SUMMER HOLIDAY HE AND OTHER AMBASSADORS WOULD BE MEETING WITH THE GOVERNMENT FOR FOREIGN POLICY DISCUSSIONS. HE WOULD BE BRIEFING THE MEETING ON HOW INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS ARE VIEWED FROM WASHINGTON.
- 3. VIGGEN: WHILE AFFIRMING THAT THERE WERE NO BILATERAL

POLITICAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, WACHTMEISTER NOTED THERE WERE SOME COMMERCIAL QUESTIONS AND ESPECIALLY THE QUESTION OF THE SALE OF VIGGEN AIRCRAFT TO INDIA. THE UNDER SECRETARY RESPONDED THIS SALE PRESENTED US WITH A DIFFICULT PROBLEM BECAUSE WE WERE TRYING TO DISSUADE THE INDIANS FROM ACCELERATING THE ARMS RACE IN THE

AREA BY ACQUIRING A DEEP PENETRATION AIRCRAFT. WE HAVE TURNED DOWN THE PAKISTANIS FOR A SIMILAR AIRCRAFT, SO WE WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO BE PARTY TO A SALE TO INDIA. OUR POSITION HAD BEEN EXPLAINED TO PM DESAI.

4. WACHTMEISTER NOTED THE SWEDISH MINISTER OF COMMERCE IS GOING TO INDIA TO DISCUSS THE MATTER, AND IT IS STILL IMPORTANT TO BE ABLE TO LET THE INDIANS KNOW THE VIGGEN WILL BE AVAILABLE IF THEY WANT IT. SWEDEN HAS TIGHT RESTRICTIONS ON MILITARY EXPORTS, BUT INDIA AS A DEMOCRACY QUALIFIES TO PURCHASE THIS PLANE. ALSO HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD SOON BE MAKING LONG-TERM DECISIONS ON THE FUTURE OF ITS AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY AND THE VIGGEN SALE MIGHT DETERMINE WHETHER THE INDUSTRY COULD CONTINUE. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT WOULD BE THE AMERICAN RESPONSE TO THE SWEDISH REQUEST TO USE ADVANCED AMERICAN ENGINES. CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 169236

5. MIDDLE EAST: WACHTMEISTER NOTED SWEDEN HAS A SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS DEMONSTRATED BY ITS CONTRI-BUTION TO PEACEKEEPING FORCES. THE UNDER SECRETARY STATED THAT OUR AIM SINCE THE SADAT INITIATIVE HAS BEEN TO KEEP THE DIALOGUE GOING AND TO ASSIST THE TWO SIDES TO FOCUS ON TWO DOCUMENTS: A GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLES THAT WOULD GUIDE A SETTLEMENT AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERIM AND FUTURE ADMINISTRATION OF THE GAZA STRIP AND THE WEST BANK. AFTER SOME EFFORT TO WORK OUT A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES IT BECAME CLEAR IT WAS HARD TO DO SO WITHOUT ALSO DEVELOPING SOME SPECIFICS OF THEIR APPLICATION. THE EGYPTIANS HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT TO DEPART FROM THEIR STAN-DARD LINE ON THE WEST BANK AND OTHER ISSUES. THEY SAID THEY WOULD PUT FORWARD SPECIFICS ONLY IF ISRAEL WOULD GIVE ITS IDEAS ON THE WEST BANK DURING THE FIRST FIVE YEARS AND THEREAFTER. WE ASKED ISRAEL FOR ITS VIEWS AND GOT A VERY DISAPPOINTING REPLY. OUR OBJECTIVE NOW IS TO KEEP THE MOMENTUM GOING, TO ENCOURAGE THE EGYPTIANS TO COME FORWARD WITH THEIR IDEAS, EVEN IF THEY CONSIDER THE ISRAELI REPLY UNSATISFACTORY. THE EGYPTIANS SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY IN PRIVATE BUT TEND TO RETURN TO STANDARD ARAB POSITIONS IN PUBLIC. AT PRESENT WE WANT TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS, BY INVITATION OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND WITH THE PRESENCE OF SECRETARY VANCE. THIS IS NOT NAILED DOWN BUT WE ARE HOPEFUL IT CAN BE DONE IN JULY. ONCE THIS MEETING IS SET UP WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE THE EGYPTIANS TO PUT SOMETHING FORWARD WHICH CAN BE COMPARED

WITH THE BEGIN PLAN. THE FUTURE BEYOND A MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS IS UNCHARTED, BUT AT SOME POINT WE MAY HAVE TO PUT SOME IDEAS ON THE TABLE TO BRING TOGETHER THE TWO POSITIONS.

6. WACHTMEISTER COMMENTED THE EGYPTIANS FLOATED SOME IDEAS ON THE RADIO, BUT THE ISRAELIS HAVE NOT MADE IT EASY FOR THE EGYPTIANS. THE UNDER SECRETARY NOTED THE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 169236

EGYPTIAN IDEAS HAD BEEN MENTIONED ON EGYPTIAN RADIO SO ISRAEL DECIDED TO REJECT THEM. THERE IS SOME INDICATION THE ISRAELIS ARE BACKING AWAY A LITTLE; BEGIN IS EXPLAINING THE REJECTION WAS NOT OF THE PLAN PER SE BUT OF SOME CONDITIONS OF THE PROPOSAL. THE EGYPTIANS WILL COME FORWARD WITH SOMETHING, BUT IT IS NOT YET CLEAR HOW MUCH.

- 7. WACHTMEISTER ASKED ABOUT CONTACT BETWEEN THE MINISTERS OF DEFENSE. THE UNDER SECRETARY REPLIED THAT WEIZMAN HAS PROPOSED ANOTHER MEETING, BUT THERE ARE MANY COMPLICATIONS. THE ISRAELIS WANT FACE TO FACE MEETINGS WITHOUT US INVOLVEMENT. WEIZMAN HAD IDEAS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF BEGIN AND HAS A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EGYPTIAN DEFENSE MINISTER. WE DON'T KNOW WHETHER THESE TALKS CAN RESUME. ASKED ABOUT SAUDI AND JORDANIAN PARTICIPATION, THE UNDER SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF SAUDI PARTICIPATION IS REMOTE, WHILE JORDAN WANTS TO WAIT UNTIL THERE IS MORE PROGRESS.
- 8. WACHTMEISTER ASKED HOW THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT RE-LATED TO THE PROBLEM. THE UNDER SECRETARY SAID IT WAS PURELY CEREMONIAL, TO LET THE ISRAELIS KNOW WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP. THE BRIEF STOP IN EGYPT IS A RESPONSE TO PERSISTENT EGYPTIAN INVITATIONS AND DOES NOT MEAN THE VICE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE A NEGOTIATING ROLE, ALTHOUGH HE WILL CONVEY SOME GENERAL POLITICAL ATMOS-PHERICS.
- 9. US/SOVIET RELATIONS: WACHTMEISTER INDICATED HE HAD FOLLOWED EAST/WEST RELATIONS CLOSELY THE PAST FEW WEEKS AND WONDERED WHETHER THE SOVIETS WOULD RESPOND TO THE PRESIDENT'S AND SECRETARY'S DESIRE FOR PROGRESS ON SALT AND OTHER COOPERATION. THE UNDER SECRETARY REPLIED THAT OUR CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 169236

ASSESSMENT IS THAT THE SOVIETS STILL WANT A DIALOGUE ON SIGNIFICANT ISSUES, ESPECIALLY SALT, AND THERE IS NO SIGN OF A SLOW-UP IN THE TECHNICAL TALKS ON SALT IN GENEVA. TWO SALT ISSUES REMAIN: THE BACKFIRE BOMBER AND THE QUESTION OF NEW MISSILES. THESE ARE TOUGH QUESTIONS WHICH

WILL PROBABLY REQUIRE A MEETING OF THE SECRETARY WITH GROMYKO FOR RESOLUTION; WE THINK THE RUSSIANS WILL AGREE TO SUCH A MEETING BUT NONE IS YET SCHEDULED. WACHTMEISTER COMMENTED THAT SWEDISH EXPERIENCE IS THAT IF THE SOVIETS REALLY WANT AN AGREEMENT THEY WILL NOT LET THEMSELVES BE DIVERTED. THE UNDER SECRETARY STATED THERE HAD BEEN SOME CONFUSION ABOUT LINKAGE AND ALLEGED CLEAVAGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION, BUT THE ESSENTIAL POINT WAS THAT WE CAN GO

AHEAD AND SETTLE ALL THE TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF A SALT AGREEMENT BUT IF THE SENATE BELIEVES THE SOVIETS ARE UP TO MISCHIEF ALL AROUND THE WORLD RATIFICATION WILL BE DIFFICULT. WACHTMEISTER REMARKED THAT LINKAGE IN THIS SENSE IS PART OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

10. WACHTMEISTER WONDERED IF PETTY INCIDENTS WOULD CONTINUE, SUCH AS THE GRABBING OF BUSINESSMEN AND THE "WAR OF WORDS". THE UNDER SECRETARY REPLIED THAT WE HOPE THE AGREEMENT TO RELEASE CRAWFORD AND THE TWO SOVIETS TO THE CUSTODY OF THEIR RESPECTIVE AMBASSADORS PENDING FURTHER JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS WILL QUIET THINGS DOWN. THE SUMMONING OF TWO JOURNALISTS IS A PUZZLE TO US; OUR EMBASSY DOES NOT SEE IT AS PART OF A PATTERN OF RETALIATION AND IT MAY BE SOME SEPARATE PROBLEM OF THE SOVIET TV ORGANIZATION. WACHTMEISTER COMMENTED THE ACTION AGAINST THE JOURNALISTS SEEMED DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT; THE UNDER SECRETARY ASSENTED.

11. CYPRUS QUESTION: WACHTMEISTER THEN RAISED THE ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY. THE UNDER SECRETARY NOTED THE SECRETARY WAS SPENDING THE ENTIRE DAY ON THE HILL SEEKING AN CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 169236

END TO THE EMBARGO, A MOVE WHICH WE THINK IS CRITICAL TO THE HEALTH OF NATO. THE GREEK CYPRIOTS STILL TAKE THE POSITION THAT ANY RECOGNITION OF TURKISH MOVEMENT WILL BE AGAINST THEIR INTERESTS; THEY ARE MORE HARDLINE THAN ATHENS. IF THE GREEKS RECOGNIZE THAT THE TURKS HAVE MADE MOVES, THERE COULD BE TALKS. THE TURKS HAVE INTIMATED THAT IF THERE WERE TALKS THEY COULD DO MORE, SUCH AS TERRITIORIAL CONCESSIONS AND RETURN OF GREEK CYPRIOTS TO VAROSHA. THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL SUGGESTIONS APPEAR TO BE LESS USEFUL.

12. WACHTMEISTER ASKED IF THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WOULD HAVE A DIRECT EFFECT ON TURKISH WILLINGNESS TO MAKE CONCESSIONS. THE UNDER SECRETARY REPLIED THAT THE TURKS SAY IT WOULD, BUT THE GREEKS CLAIM THE EMBARGO IS NECESSARY TO KEEP PRESSURE ON THE TURKS. OUR VIEW IS THAT WITH TURKISH MOVEMENT RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS SHOULD TAKE PLACE; THE TURKS HAVE INDICATED THEIR NEGOTIATING POSITION WILL BE FLEXIBLE AND FORTHCOMING.

13. AFRICA: WACHTMEISTER NOTED HE HAD READ THE SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY AND HE WAS HAPPY TO SEE THE US INITIATING CONTACT WITH ANGOLA. THE UNDER SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT OUR REPRESENTATIVE HAD VERY CORDIAL TALKS, AND IT WAS AGREED TO CONTINUE CONTACT. NETO EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH MOBUTU TO STOP PROBLEMS ON THE BORDER BUT DID NOT HAVE A HIGH OPINION OF MOBUTU. OUR MAIN

PROBLEM IS THAT AS LONG AS LARGE NUMBERS OF CUBAN TROOPS REMAIN IN ANGOLA AND SEEM TO PLAY A LARGE ROLE IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO GET LEGISLATION REVERSED WHICH HINDERS OUR RELATIONS. WE HOPE ANGOLA/ZAIRE RELATIONS WILL IMPROVE, AND THAT SOME DAY THERE MIGHT EVEN BE A RECONCILIATION CONFIDENTIAL.

PAGE 07 STATE 169236

WITH SAVIMBI. WACHTMEISTER NOTED THE LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS RELATE ONLY TO AID. THE UNDER SECRETARY AGREED, BUT REMARKED THAT EVEN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WOULD NOT BE FULLY ACCEPTED IN CONGRESS UNTIL THE SITUATION IS IMPROVED.

- 14. WACHTMEISTER ASKED IF THE ANGOLANS SHOWED MUCH INTEREST IN IMPROVED RELATIONS. THE UNDER SECRETARY SAID THEY DID; WE HAD THREE DIFFERENT SIGNALS NETO WANTED IMPROVED RELATIONS. WACHTMEISTER ASKED WHAT THE ANGOLANS SAID ABOUT THE CUBANS. THE UNDER SECRETARY REPLIED THAT THE ANGOLANS SAID THE CUBANS ARE IMPORTANT TO THEM, THEY WERE INVITED IN, AND THEY ARE PLAYING A PROPER ROLE.
- 15. LATIN AMERICA: WACHTMEISTER NOTED THE UNDER SECRETARY HAD RECENTLY BEEN IN LA AND ASKED ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARGENTINA AND CHILE. THE UNDER SECRETARY REPLIED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE HAS IMPROVED IN CHILE, BUT UN-FORTUNATELY AT PRESENT OUR RELATIONS ARE AFFECTED BY WHAT WE CONSIDER AN UNCOOPERATIVE ATTITUDE ON THE LETELIER CASE. AND OUR AMBASSADOR HAS BEEN CALLED HOME FOR CONSULATIONS. ONE PROBLEM IS THAT AN IMAGE ONCE ESTABLISHED TENDS TO ENDURE, AND IF SOME ASPECTS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IMPROVE ATTENTION THEN SHIFTS TO OTHER ASPECTS. ARGENTINA IS STILL A SERIOUS PROBLEM. THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE OF HIS RECENT TRIP WAS TO SEE WHAT COULD BE "ONE. WE ARE HOLDING UP ON A NUMBER OF MILITARY ITEMS AND ON EXPORT/IMPORT BANK CREDITS. WE HAD HOPED TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN ANY OR ALL OF THREE AREAS WHICH WOULD HAVE PERMITTED US TO RELAX OUR RESTRICTIONS: FIRST, AN INVITATION TO THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS (IACHR) TO VISIT ARGENTINA WHICH THE IACHR WOULD ACCEPT. THE INVITATION WAS ISSUED, BUT THE CONDITIONS THE GOA PLACED ON THE IACHR'S ACCESS WERE TOO RESTRICTED TO PERMIT IACHR ACCEPTANCE. SECOND, A SUBSTANTIAL RELEASE OF THE 3,300 PRISONERS PRE-SENTLY UNDER DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL. THIRD, SOME RELEASE OF INFORMATION ABOUT THOSE WHO HAVE DISAPPEARED, WHICH IS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 169236

MOST TRAGIC SINCE THE RELATIVES CAN'T GET INFORMATION.

NEWSOM REPORTED THE GOA MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR SEEMED SYMPATHETIC BUT SAID HE HAD A PROBLEM WITH REGARD TO LAWSUITS, DIFFICULTIES OF IDENTIFICATION, ETC. HE HAS INFORMATION AVAILABLE, ALTHOUGH MAYBE NOT ON ALL CASES IN WHICH ACTION WAS TAKEN BY LOWER LEVELS WHO HAD WIDE DISCRETION IN THE LATTER DAYS OF THE ISABEL PERON ADMINISTRATION. THE UNDER SECRETARY CONFIRMED WACHTMEISTER'S REMARK THAT IN

ARGENTINA THERE HAD BEEN NO SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS. VANCE

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